/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

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000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/

PART ONE

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Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « [illegible] » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16
114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16
123 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying
124 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on
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16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
858 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
842 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is
562 based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[198] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
(124) It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
(128) because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

(581) Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
42 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

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in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there will no longer be any doubt about their nature.

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124)

Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Summer Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

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128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 609 789 954 955 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic" everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells. For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life, does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 124 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and conversations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

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123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

35. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρν'η'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

796 [124] [831] 796 171 536

796 789

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128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must the fore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

[124] In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[129] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

[782] In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/317 cont./

789 114 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consubstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One [124] [825] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539 --The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.
Or again:
--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...
Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
539 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."